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Executive Secretary

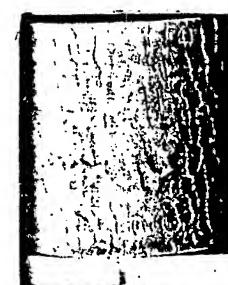
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State Dept. review completed

NSC review completed.

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URGENT

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

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July 13, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: See Distribution Below
SUBJECT: East-West Policy Study

Pursuant to the consensus at the July 13 Senior Inter-departmental Group Meeting on East-West Policy, we are attaching final changes for your review. Any comments should be passed to Phil Kaplan (632-8986) in the Department of State by COB today. We then will forward the final version of the Decision Memorandum, Executive Summary and full study for NSC consideration this week.

L. Paul Bremer, Jr.
L. Paul Bremer, Jr.
Executive Secretary

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East-West Policy Study

Changes Proposed at July 13 SIG

1. Decision Memorandum

A. (Page 1). In Item 1.a., after the words "Nuclear Forces", replace the present language with the following: "We must redress the current imbalance through a comprehensive modernization program designed to strengthen deterrence. The Soviets must perceive, in all contingencies, the costs of initiating strategic or theater nuclear attacks as higher than the potential gains."

B. (Page 2). In item 2.b., at the end of the first sentence, add the following: ", and by calling attention to the failures of the Soviet approach to development."

C. (Page 3). Item b.3 should read as follows: "To achieve allied agreement on an arms control strategy, and use our participation in arms control processes to seek agreements based on parity, arms reduction and balanced verifiable arms control, while ensuring that negotiations do not become an excuse for delaying NATO force modernization, and placing the burden on the Soviet Union for resisting effective arms control;"

2. Executive Summary

A. (Page 4). Replace the second sentence under "Nuclear Force" with the following: "We must redress the current imbalance through a comprehensive modernization program designed to strengthen deterrence. The Soviets must perceive, in all contingencies, the costs of initiating strategic or theater nuclear attacks as higher than the potential gains."

B. (Page 7). The third key goal in Europe should be reworked to read as follows: "To achieve allied consensus on arms control strategy we should seek agreements based on parity, arms reduction and balanced verifiable arms control. In this way we can meet the allied political need for a verifiable arms control process, while ensuring that negotiations do not interfere with NATO force modernization,

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and placing the burden on the Soviet Union for resisting effective arms control. In particular . . ."

3. Full Text

A. (III-1). Replace the sentence on "Nuclear Forces" with the following: "We must redress the current imbalance through a comprehensive modernization program designed to strengthen deterrence. This program must improve our second strike forces for destroying Soviet military assets and achieve a deterrent capability (including command and control systems) for enduring survival in a nuclear war. The Soviets must perceive, in all contingencies, the costs of initiating strategic or theater nuclear attacks as higher than the potential gains.

B. (Page III-6). In the last paragraph, first line, delete the word "declaratory".

C. (Page V-6). The third sentence of section (b) on arms control should be changed to read as follows: "We should use that process to seek agreements based on parity, arms reduction and balanced verifiable arms control, while placing the burden on the Soviet Union for resisting effective arms control."

D. (Page V-2). To conform with language in Decision Memo and Executive Summary, insert the following new paragraph before "Goals": "We must recognize that it often will be difficult to generate adequate support from our allies and friends, in Europe and Asia, for our policies toward the Soviet Union. This will require some adjustment in US positions and an occasional need for unilateral US action in pursuit of particularly important interests. A Standing Interagency Group is hereby established to ensure proper implementation of the decisions flowing from the East-West study. In addition, an Interagency Group is established and commissioned to conduct a study on major alliance relationships. This study should develop a detailed strategy and tactics for dealing with our allies and friends in the pursuit of major US political, economic and military objectives."

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